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WHAT IS THE ANSWER TO THE RIDDLE OF CHINA?

JAMES A. CRAIN

What is the answer to the problem of the misery and suffering of the mass of 450 million human beings that is China?

For the present there seems to be none. The only thing that seems certain is still more suffering for the millions of patient Chinese people who lived for so long under the domination of the Manchu dynasty and have since 1910 been betrayed by false leaders, torn asunder by jealous war-lords, ravaged by Japanese invaders, and now are victims of civil war.

It is apparent that Madame Chiang Kai-shek's desperate and heroic flight to Washington to seek aid for her husband's falling regime has resulted in failure. China will get little or no aid beyond that to which we are already committed. American resistance to the spread of Communism will continue to be centered in Europe. Why?

There is no single or simple answer.

INEPTITUDE AND CORRUPTION

However, some of the facts are apparent. At the end of World War II the American forces left in China many divisions of well trained and splendidly equipped Chinese troops. Through military ineptitude these forces have been cut to pieces and their equipment squandered, much of it having fallen into the hands of the Communists either by capture or sale. Since the end of the war we have sent millions of dollars of additional military supplies, rifles, guns, ammunition, airplanes. Much of this has been lost through the same means. Testifying before a Congressional committee early in 1948, Secretary Marshall declared that of the \$6 billion U.S. aid only about 80 percent was effective, that perhaps as much as 20 percent was siphoned off by corrupt Chinese officials. George Seldes (*In Fact*, Dec. 13, 1948) says that the Marshall estimate is deemed entirely too low by other Americans, especially UNRRA officials and U.S. Army officers in China, who say that barely 10 percent of the Lend-Lease supplies were used for the purpose for which they were intended; that 70 percent was salted away for future struggles with political rivals and the remaining 20 percent sold to the Japanese. *Time* (December 20, 1948) charges that the Chinese Nationalists have surrendered 236,000 rifles, 14,000 machine guns and 26,000 tommy-guns to the Communists in recent battles without a fight. Seldes quotes Secretary Marshall as giving the figure of 270,000 rifles. The dominant

official view of China's situation is, says *U.S. News & World Report* (December 10, 1948) that Chiang is no longer able to depend upon his generals or his armies; that Communist dominance in China is important but not vital to U.S. interests, and that the Communists will have plenty of trouble when they undertake to rule China. While China possesses a vast reservoir of manpower, her resources are limited and her war-making power is small.

THE BIG FOUR FAMILIES

George Seldes devotes the entire December 13, 1948, issue of *In Fact* to a discussion of the Chiang regime. He charges that the Big Four Families of China—the Chiangs, the Soongs, the Kungs and the Chens—the first three related by inter-marriage—control China's wealth for their own profit.

The Soongs and the Kungs, says Seldes, control the Fu Chung Corp. (China) Ltd., organized in 1946, representing American automobile firms, razors, electrical equipment, chemicals and metals; the Goldmont Corp., organized in 1946 representing American companies selling engineering supplies, milling machinery, farming and mining implements, plumbing supplies, automobiles, textiles, plastics, steel refining equipment, food products and dyestuffs. The same families also control the China Development Finance Corp., organized in 1934, a huge holding company. H. H. Kung, says *In Fact*, has been involved in large scale bond and gold speculations and foreign exchange manipulation. The same source names the Soong group as controlling cotton, rice and tobacco companies, and as operating 52 textile factories taken over from the Japanese. Their textile profits alone are said to have been \$48,000,000 in 1946. Chiang himself is charged with controlling through pseudo-governmental regulations an elaborate financial network which controls railways, steamship companies, 116 industrial plants, 37 mining and 33 power projects. Among other charges are that Madame Chiang while in the U.S. in 1945, supposedly for her health, made one of the largest emerald purchases in the history of the New York gem market and that her flight to Brazil was to cache there her treasure, that "one prominent Chinese leader" (T. V. Soong had just been named) had on deposit \$18,000,000 in the Chase Na-

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TWO DECLARATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

WALTER W. SIKES

Two notable declarations of human rights were adopted in early December—one by the United Nations, the other by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

At Paris the UN General Assembly, after two and a half years preliminary work by the Economic and Social Council and its Commission on Human Rights, adopted the Declaration on Human Rights by a vote of 48 to 0, with the Soviet bloc, the Union of South Africa and Saudi Arabia abstaining. It imposes no legal obligations but affirms agreement on the responsibilities of people and nations with respect to the rights of persons.

"Political leaders increasingly recognize that the issues of human rights underlie and penetrate virtually every political problem which the world today faces," stated Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, Associate Secretary General of the World Council of Churches and Executive Secretary of its Committee of the Churches on International Affairs, who acted as a spokesman for the churches before both the Commission on Human Rights and ECOSOCO. "It represents a statement of world opinion," and "carries a moral weight that can not be ignored."

It is too long for any kind of summarization here. But four notable emphasis in it deserve comment. The first is the basic affirmation in the Preamble that the "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom and justice and peace in the world" and the spelling out of this (articles 1 and 2) to mean that no "distinctions of any kind such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social, property, birth or any other status," or "the political, jurisdictional, or international status of the country or territory to which the person belongs can be made." In short, "all human beings are born free and equal, in dignity and rights."

That the Declaration omits mention of God or the Creator as the source of these rights has been criticized by some Christians who feel that this omission was too great a concession to the states that refuse recognition of God and admit only a materialistic or humanistic derivation of human rights. On the other hand, the Communist states criti-

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SOME DO'S AND DON'TS FOR RELIEF GIVERS

RUTH ESTES MILNER

DO keep up the good work of sending used clothing, bedding, shoes (not high-heeled or cloth ladies shoes) and medical supplies for world relief.

DO keep in mind the needs of our missionaries and share with them things that can be shipped and used.

DO continue commodity gifts to CROP, even though credit on Crusade goals can not be claimed. Cash gifts for CROP should be sent to the Crusade office marked "for CROP" if credit is desired. It isn't always necessary for "the right hand to know what the left had doeth."

DO see to it that the clothing you send is usable, clean and repaired.

DO continue to push the project of toilet kits and hospital gowns and pajamas for overseas use.

DO write to the Department of Social Welfare, 222 South Downey Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Indiana, for the latest information relative to needed gifts and shipping directions. Not all countries are open for relief shipments and there are customs regulations to be taken into consideration. Counsel can also be given as to the wisdom of answering appeals from unknown persons.

DON'T expect Crusade or Week of Compassion credit for material aid or commodity gifts. (See above.)

DON'T expect the Department of Social Welfare to mail or ship packages to individual overseas EXCEPT in the case of gifts for our missionaries.

DON'T inaugurate service gift projects for countries subject to shipping restrictions. For advice consult the Department of Social Welfare.

DON'T send used Christmas cards, Sunday school supplies and other obsolete or used paper materials to the Missions Building or to missionaries overseas (except where missionaries have made specific requests) without first consulting the Department of Social Welfare. Except where requested the value of this material to the missions does not justify the expense and trouble.

WASHINGTON ROUND-UP

ROBERT A. FANGMEIER

Military Lend-Lease. A new military lend-lease bill seems certain to be introduced in the 81st Congress. Its purpose will be to implement the so-called North Atlantic Pact. Both the lend-lease measure and the treaty will undoubtedly touch off a historic debate. The proposed North Atlantic Pact will call for the U.S. to join in a military alliance with five western European countries and Canada to preserve peace in the Atlantic world. The treaty would bind the United States to send military supplies immediately and men when needed. Such a move would be a historic departure from traditional American policy. It would shift responsibility for declaring war from Congress, where it constitutionally belongs, to the President. Under this proposal the President could commit the country to military action, leaving to Congress the act of formally declaring a war already in progress.

The Military Budget. The department of National Defense has asked the President for \$23 billion in the new budget which will be presented to Congress soon after January 1. However, the President has directed Secretary Forrestal to trim the figure to \$15 billion. The President's budget will probably carry the lesser figure, but those who recall how the Air Force defied the President last year and got a 70 Group Air Force instead of the 55 Group recommended can envision the possibility of the various branches of the service again lobbying to get from the Congress what the President is unwilling to give them. Already the propaganda barrage is beginning. It is also true that this propaganda is raising some editorial opposition. The charge of military dictation is being renewed. The cost of maintenance of the armed services, preparations for future wars and costs of past wars are now taking 79 percent of the total budget. Dr. Edward Nourse, the President's adviser on economic affairs, warns that the armed services budget cannot be increased without imposing rigid controls on many critical materials and in addition, unbalancing the national economy.

UMT. It is believed that President Truman will again ask Congress to enact universal military training. The Draft Act passed by the 80th Congress in a crisis atmosphere may set the pattern for the new attempt. The line up of organizations supporting and opposing this legislation has not changed substantially. The American Legion led off in support of UMT at its recent convention in Miami. Labor and church groups continue their opposition. The attitude of the new Congress is not yet known, but if the proposal is considered in an atmosphere of international tension the chance of its passage will be immeasurably increased. Opponents will have to work harder than ever if UMT is not to be rushed through the 81st Congress.

ECA. The \$5 billion ECA appropriation runs out in July 1949. New legislation for both authorization and appropriations will have to be enacted by the 81st Congress if aid to Europe and Asia is to be continued. ECA will submit its request to Congress sometime between January 15 and February 1. It is believed that the new askings will be less than the previous \$5 billion figure, with the hope that it may be cleared before debate begins on the proposed military alliance with Western Europe.

Civil Rights. Civil rights was one of the principal issues in President Truman's re-election campaign. He will undoubtedly seek to secure enactment of his 10-point program. His sensational personal victory and the election of a more liberal Congress would seem to insure the passage of some of this program. One obstacle yet to be removed is the filibuster in the Senate. An attempt will be made to secure the necessary two-thirds vote to invoke cloture, which would limit debate and make it possible to bring the issues to vote. At this time, however, there is no assurance that agreement can be reached on the question of invoking cloture.

Groups interested in civil rights feel that legislation must be brought up early in the session to assure passage. Some Southern senators have offered not to filibuster against such measures as anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bills if FEPC legislation is not pressed. However, groups supporting civil rights feel that FEPC is the most important of these measures and are not inclined to accept any compromise. They feel that the country endorsed the President's program by returning him to the White House and that Congress should make good on his campaign promises.

Displaced Persons. The new Congress will be asked to amend the Displaced Persons Act to double the 200,000 authorized to enter the U.S., to speed up the procedure for processing displaced persons in Europe, to restore the 50 percent of the German and Austrian quota assigned to eastern European countries such as Poland and Lithuania, and to give these countries quotas of their own. Under existing legislation no Displaced Person can come to the United States unless he was in Germany before December 1945. It is proposed to extend the eligibility date to April 26, 1947, to accommodate the many who fled their own countries to escape Soviet persecution.

Legislative Predictions. The Democratic victory will bring about a more liberal attitude toward certain legislation proposed but not enacted by the 80th Congress. The \$300,000,000 Federal Aid to Education bill is likely to pass the House. The Senate passed the bill in the last Congress and is almost certain to do so again. Action to raise the minimum wage rate from 40c to 75c per hour will have a good chance of passing.

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ON SOCIAL FRONTIERS

JAMES A. CRAIN

Murder In Greece. Some months ago George Polk, an American correspondent was murdered in Saloniki, Greece, under circumstances that have never been explained. Greek authorities charge that he was the victim of Communists. All that is known for sure is that he had an engagement to meet General Markos, chief of the Greek guerilla forces, that one night he hired a boatman to row him to a vessel on which he was to sail for his appointment, that his body was found floating in the harbor, and that his credentials were received through the mail. Nothing further has developed, despite efforts of American correspondents in Europe to get action on the case. Recently an American representative of a relief agency operating in Greece returned to the U.S. with the following story. On the night before Polk met his death this relief official had dinner with Polk and his wife. At that time Polk related that he had received information that Vice Premier Tsoldaris, the real "strong man" of the Greek government, was putting large sums of money in the Chase National Bank of New York. Polk approached Tsoldaris and told him that unless he received evidence to the contrary he intended to print the story. No such evidence was given. The interview is said to have taken place shortly before the dinner party described above. The next night Polk left to visit the Communist headquarters and was killed and his body dumped into the Saloniki harbor. Any connection between the interview with Tsoldaris and the tragic death of Polk is purely inferential, but the story offers a possible reason why the murder has never been solved and why the U.S. authorities have not pressed harder for bringing the perpetrator to justice.

* * *

Who Will Control the Man Who Controls the Atom? Speaking at the ministers' breakfast at the International Convention in San Francisco, Dr. Stephen E. Fisher, whose long ministry with the University Place Church, Champaign, Illinois, recently closed with his retirement from the active pastorate, told this story. Some years ago a University of Illinois professor built a 35 million volt betatron to initiate the process of atomic fission. The University is now building one of 250 million volts which the builders say will be capable of producing and bringing under man's control the cosmic ray. But where, asked Dr. Fisher, is the power to bring under control the man who controls so much power? Man has seized powers that heretofore belonged only to God. If he is not to destroy himself by the misuse of the tremendous power at his command he must have some of the self-discipline that belongs to God.

* * *

The Christian Way in Race Relations. The Seventh Day Adventists have just

completed and dedicated debt-free a half-million dollar hospital for Negroes in Nashville, Tennessee, reports Dr. R. B. Eleazer of the General Board of Education of the Methodist Church in his "Interracial Notes." The institution was financed by the Seventh Day Adventist General Conference and was furnished by the Negro members of the denomination. It is located on a 45-acre campus and provides beds for 85 adult patients and 16 babies. The modern institution will be directed by an interracial board; will have a full-time staff of Negro physicians and nurses, and is accredited by the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association and the Blue Cross Society. The Medical School of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, has inaugurated a program of post-graduate training for Negro physicians to be operated in connection with Grady Hospital. The program consists of a series of weekly clinics supervised and conducted by members of the staffs of the school and hospitals. Those who imagine that Ku Kluxism and Bilboism completely represent the people of the South are invited to contemplate the action of these Christian institutions.

The Church and Community Organization

RUTH ESTES MILNER

Increasingly the community is becoming the concern of the many organizations and agencies.

This is all to the good with the exception of one thing—unless there is cooperation among such organizations and agencies and correlation of their activities the community may be divided, frustrated and eventually become apathetic and unresponsive to the many appeals and divisive forces playing upon its life.

Organized attempts are being made to avoid this stultifying condition. One approach is through the community council composed of representatives of all organizations and agencies for clear-ance and mutual understanding. Community agencies find that they have many things in common, that they can do many things together more easily than they can separately and with better results. They discover, too, that their ultimate objective, to help people, is more important than the perpetuation of organizations.

The church from which has stemmed most of the organized forces for community welfare and service still has one thing that the community needs, the one thing that it must have, the religious faith that lifts life to the highest spiritual level ever attained by man. Because the church is the custodian of a redemptive gospel for all of life it should participate in the organized efforts of the community in order that it may make the contribution of life and spirit for which it is responsible and of which it is the sole custodian.

PATTERN FOR WORLD WAR III CONTROLS

What will the pattern of American life be like under World War III? If the National Security Resources Board has its way and if the 81st Congress enacts the necessary stand-by legislation. As given in considerable detail by *U.S. News & World Report* (October 29, 1948), the following is what is being cooked up for the American people on M-Day of World War III.

1. From 10,500,000 to 13,500,000 men will be drafted into the armed forces.

2. Manufacturers will be told what they can make, how much they can make and how to make it.

3. Labor will be put under federal control. Workers will be shifted to war plants or to armed forces as needed. Strikes will be outlawed in war plants and in most major industries. Wages will be frozen and increases will be subject to approval of a federal war agency.

4. Prices will be frozen and changes will be subject to approval of a federal war agency.

5. Taxes will be immediately raised to 1945 levels, with higher rates later.

6. Profits will be fixed by law and all excess profits will be taxed away.

7. Firms dealing in non-essentials (non-military) goods will find many of their supplies shut off and will have to take war contracts if offered.

8. Raw materials, such as metals and lumber, will be allocated by law under a war priority system.

9. Food will be rationed, especially such items as meat and other high cost products. Food costs will be held to present levels or lower.

10. Civilian incomes will be limited by record income taxes, sales taxes and possibly a system of forced savings through purchase of government bonds. A practical ceiling will be put on net incomes, perhaps as low as \$8,000 a year.

11. Living standards will go down for nearly every one. Automobiles will go off the streets except for essential uses. Civilian goods that can be bought will be reduced to a bare minimum. Electricity will be rationed. Pleasure trips will be out. Genuine "austerity" will come to all of the U.S.

12. Housing construction for civilian use will be virtually stopped. Public housing will be limited by tight supply of lumber and steel. Rationing of gasoline will make it necessary for more people to live within street car distance of their jobs. This means doubling up for families in existing houses.

What this adds up to is that under World War III the United States, which throughout its history has been the symbol of freedom and plenty, the home of the highest standard of living that the world has ever known, will have squandered this inestimable boon (assuming that these plans are designed for the present emergency) by three military ventures.

CHINA RIDDLE

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tional and National City Bank in New York (Congressional Record, December 11, 1947, p. 11407); that 130-million rounds of American ammunition released to the Nationalists was sold right off the Shanghai docks to the Communists.

On the other hand, veteran missionaries like Edwin Marx, with long experience in China, express confidence in the integrity of Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang, though admitting that the Kuomintang is riddled with graft and corruption.

TOO LATE

A further reason for U. S. refusal to give aid to Chiang is that in all probability it is too late. Under present conditions additional shipments of arms would be only a present for the Communists. The sending of troops is out of the question, since military authorities estimate that it would require 50 divisions, with all that such numbers imply in the way of supplies and replacements. We simply could not carry out our commitments in Europe if we were to take on such a task.

LIMITATION OF AMERICAN RESOURCES

Perhaps the most cogent reason of all is that the U.S. government is beginning to realize that there is a bottom to the U.S. barrel of resources. Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers to the President, told the Joint Orientation Conference called by Defense Secretary Forrestal that the nation's productive resources are now being used at peak level and that if defense expenditures are raised above the present \$15 billion figure to \$18 or \$20 billion "there will be important repercussions on the economy." These repercussions he named as inflation, shortages of men and materials, and the imposition of controls over the allocation of materials, over skilled labor, and to prevent spiraling living costs, "price controls of quite extensive scope" might be necessary "unless severe fiscal measures were invoked to curtail civilian demand." What Mr. Nourse was telling the military is, in simple language, there is a limit to military expenditures unless we want a regimented fascist economy.

"This Declaration (of Human Rights) may well become the international Magna Charta of all men everywhere. We hope its proclamation by the General Assembly will be an event comparable to the Proclamation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man by the French people in 1789, and the adoption of the Bill of Rights by the people of the United States, and the adoption of comparable declarations at different times in other countries." Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to the General Assembly of United Nations, December 10, 1948.

TWO DECLARATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

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cize the Declaration on the ground that it sets inherent rights of men above the sovereign power of the state. The Declaration represents in this basic matter a compromise between two opposing beliefs represented in the United Nations. Its significance is to be seen in its unequivocal declaration of the rights of all men to hold, change, and propagate their beliefs, not in an effort to define what those beliefs should be.

The second emphasis calling for notice is Article 16 which affirms that "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state," and the further right of every person of full age to marry and found a family and to enjoy equal rights "as to marriage, during marriage, and at its dissolution."

A third is contained in Articles 18 to 20 which declares the right of everyone to "freedom of thought, conscience and religion," including the freedom to change his beliefs, to express them in teachings, practice, worship, and observance," to hold opinions, to seek, to receive and to impart information and ideas "through any media and regardless of frontiers." The USSR sought to limit this freedom of thought and religion to such acts as were "in accordance with the laws of the country concerned and the requirements of public morality." In rejecting this view and in adopting these Articles as above the General Assembly declares the freedom of everyone to hold, propagate, and practice conscientious religious beliefs regardless of whether they conform to the laws of the state or to what the state regards as "the requirements of public morality." Article 29 recognizes limitations by law upon the exercise of these rights, only, however, when these limitations are "solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society."

The final emphasis (Articles 22 to 28) deserving special mention in this brief review refers to the responsibility of society "through national effort and international cooperation" to realize the right of persons to "the economic, social, and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality" including his right to work, to just pay, to rest and leisure, to the necessities for health and well-being of himself and family, to education, to free participation in the cultural life of the community.

The Declaration is part one of a proposed three-part International Bill of Rights. The second part the draft of which the Commission on Human Rights intends to carry forward at its fourth session in the spring of 1949, will be a Covenant which, when ratified by mem-

ber states of the UN, will become a treaty with the status of international law. The third part will be a protocol on enforcement of the Covenant treaty.

Almost simultaneously with the adoption of the Declaration by the General Assembly the Biennial Meeting of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America adopted, without a dissenting vote but with some reservations expressed in debate, a statement on "The Churches and Human Rights," which its President, Bishop John S. Stamm, described as the "most comprehensive in its scope, and the most definite in its commitments ever issued by any great religious body on this subject."

The statement declares that "all the rich gifts which God imparts to men should be available to all without discrimination as to race, color, sex, birth, nationality, social or economic status, or creed." It explicitly reaffirms its "renunciation of the pattern of segregation as unnecessary and undesirable, and a violation of the Gospel of love and human brotherhood," since "these rights cannot be obtained under a system of racial segregation," and calls upon the churches, "as proof of their sincerity" to "work for a non-segregated church and a non-segregated society."

Three types of rights are specified which must be available without any such discriminations: (1) "Full opportunity to participate in the economic resources of the community," including an adequate standard of living, and work with fair pay, (2) "Full opportunity to participate on a non-segregated basis in the social and public life of the community," and (3) "Full opportunity to participate in the political community."

The statement closes with the challenge to the churches "to encourage the state fully to recognize these rights in law," but they themselves to "go beyond the requirements of law and seek vigorously to realize these principles, wherever they apply, within their own fellowship."

WASHINGTON ROUND-UP

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sage. It is a part of the President's program. Extension of Social Security to include new groups will have Administration support and chances for its passage are good. The present law covers about 60 percent of the population. The new bill will include agricultural labor, domestic help, and other workers, providing about 90 percent of the population. The co-operative movement can breathe easier. Efforts made in the 80th Congress to deprive co-ops of certain tax advantages will not receive sympathetic consideration. The Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing bill should have smooth sailing. The Senate passed the bill, but it never got to the floor of the House. The Taft-Hartley Law is, of course, slated for the discard.